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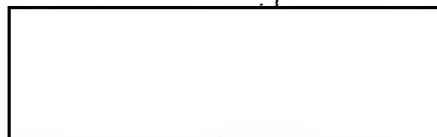
9 November 1960

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

SUBJECT: Brief of the Talk Made by Ed Lansdale Before the U.S. Army Civil Affairs School, Fort Gordon, Georgia, 1 November 1960

1. Ed Lansdale's address on "The Free Citizen in Uniform" concerned the nature of the warfare of the past 15 years, the role of the armed forces in many free world nations, the true battleground of the cold war, and some words of advice on the place and duty of the men in uniform. He gives some background on "revolutionary war" or "peoples' struggle" and states that this type of warfare, "proletarian military science," has largely supplanted the military science texts of free world military instruction. General Lansdale points out the importance of understanding the political principles and using them as operational weapons. Also, he cites a role in some nations which is quite different from the classical one of defending borders or of undertaking conquest and, as examples of this, reserve officers teaching children in primary schools, judge advocate officers providing legal counsel to poor tenant farmers in court cases involving wealthy landlords, etc.

2. General Lansdale asks that each man on his next tour overseas open his eyes to a sound understanding of the role of the armed forces in the country where he is serving. In the newly independent nations, and in the nations trying to build national respect for their armed forces, he urges that the citizens in uniform "have a rare opportunity to set an example which many will follow" and by being good citizens abroad, "the reward will be priceless."



Assistant to the Director

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EXECUTIVE SECRETARY FILE

Talk to U.S. Army Civil Affairs School
Fort Gordon, Georgia, 1 November 1960

THE FREE CITIZEN IN UNIFORM
by
Brig. Gen. Edward G. Lansdale, USAF

I.

A few days ago in Miami, Secretary Gates gave a talk in which he made it plain that our national defense strength has been built to the point where it is the greatest the world has ever known. If you can get a copy of this talk, I recommend that you do so and read it. In it is a thought which is worth extracting as the take-off point for our discussion this morning.

At one place in his talk, Secretary Gates noted that the flow of people escaping from Communist tyranny continues to rise, that the number of escapees from East Germany alone is a third higher than last year. He then commented that these people, who know the bitter truth within the Communist state, "do not flee to a second rate haven. They flee by the hundreds of thousands to first rate freedom and first rate strength."

Now, as military men, we must be alertly concerned with maintaining our first rate strength. But even further, as free citizens in uniform -- and particularly those of us here this morning who have such firm missions in the cold war -- we must be equally alert and concerned with maintaining first rate freedom. It is the only true basis for the tactical doctrine with which we will win this present struggle.

So, this morning, we will discuss the strengthening of freedom in the world by the citizen in uniform. My task will be to stimulate your thinking on this subject -- for you will have to translate your thoughts into deeds when you graduate from this school. Your deeds, your future actions soon, may well determine the deeds, the future actions soon, of hundreds of thousands of your fellow men in nations throughout the world. In order to stimulate your thinking then, I will touch briefly on the nature of the warfare of the past 15 years, the role of the armed forces in many free world nations where you will be working, the true battle ground of the cold war, and your own place and duty on this battleground.

II.

First, then, let's take a brief look at warfare in the past 15 years. There are still too few military men who understand much of this warfare well enough to recognize its secretive tactics when they bump into them, or to carry out successful actions against an enemy who often remain half-hidden from view. Let's not kid ourselves, we all must learn more. In the 28 armed conflicts since the cold war began 15 years ago, Americans participated in two and only partially observed some of the other 26. We still have hard lessons to learn.

Most of the armed warfare of the past 15 years has been along "unconventional" lines, or what some have termed "revolutionary war" or "peoples struggle." In this type of warfare, "proletarian military science," which is based upon the tactical military teachings of Mao Tse Tung, has largely supplanted the military science texts of free world military instruction.

Some examples since the end of World War II are the struggles in China, the Ukraine, the Philippines, Malaya, Indo-China, Burma, Indonesia, Tibet, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, Egypt, Cyprus, Algeria, Cuba, recent Vietnam, and partially in the struggles in Greece, Hungary, Guatemala, Iran, Israeli, Laos, Bolivia, Venezuela, Argentina, and Colombia. During the same period, such struggles as those in Korea and the British-French-Israeli attempt at the Suez Canal were fought along more conventional and more inconclusive lines.

The important lesson for us in these examples of "revolutionary war" is that in each there was at least one armed force that fought as a political army. That is, the officers and men understood political principles and used them as operational weapons in their warfare. The Continental troops at Valley Forge, the officers and men under Marion, Greene, or Wayne would have found much that was familiar to them in the motivation of these modern troops, in the use of propaganda to defect enemy soldiers, in the covert political organs so reminiscent of the Committees of Correspondence, the Committees of Safety, and in the support of our Continental troops by farmers and shopkeepers with food, money, and hard military information.

If we Americans can recognize and accept the true terms of our heritage from our own Revolution, then we will start to understand the reality of today's battleground, the tactics which win in a type of battle our forefathers knew, and find our honest kinship with other free men throughout the world who are even now pledging their sacred honor, their lives, families and livelihoods to the outcome of this struggle.

III.

In many countries today, the national armed forces have a role which is quite different from the classical one of defending borders or of undertaking conquest. Often, the armed forces are the only truly national entity which keeps the government governing and the nation alive in political independence. It is time that we open our eyes and see these national armed forces the way their own leaders and people see them.

In some countries, the army has the only nation-wide communications net. Often, this is coupled with the fact that the military man is the only disciplined representative of the national government in the area and his uniform so identifies him with the people. Thus, it is natural and understandable that a chief of state, or one of his cabinet ministers, desiring a civil action in a province remote from the national capital, will transmit his orders through the Signal Corps radio net, and frequently expect the local military commander to carry them out. This expectation is firmed by the fact, in many countries today, that national armed forces have taken the cream of the educated class, the outstanding younger leaders of the nation to officer these forces. National economy, politics, and social organization all reinforce national security in demanding civic uses of a country's armed forces. Since the real battleground in today's conflict is down at the grass-roots among the people of a nation, the national security forces must be in good position on this battleground, know it thoroughly and favorably, if the enemy is to be defeated.

In Turkey, thousands of reserve officers have just been ordered to six months active duty -- to teach children in primary schools. In Indonesia, the Army replaced Soviet engineers to undertake flood control in East Java. In Burma, the Army rehabilitated Communist prisoners on agrarian projects and by operating a shipping line with its LSTs. In Laos, the Army instructed muong and tasseng chiefs in how to be good public administrators. In the Philippines, under Magsaysay, the armed forces undertook many civic actions which were adopted later by other nations -- and even used judge advocate officers to provide legal counsel to poor tenant farmers in court cases involving wealthy landlords.

IV.

Now, such actions by national armed forces have meaning for us when we see beyond their appearance of being only simple thrift to the national treasury or as mere do-goodism. We are primarily concerned that these

armed forces are used effectively to build a security in which the nation can grow strong, independent, and as our life-long friend. And remember, friendship is built upon shared beliefs.

The immediate belief we share is that we are partners in a struggle against international Communism. This is actually a negative belief, since we are against something, and a sound future must be constructed on something positive. So, it is vital that we all know the answer to the question: what are we for?

We can start finding the answer to "what are we for" by understanding -- and constantly remembering -- the fundamental issue at stake in the world today. This fundamental issue can be stated as the issue between man's liberty as a free individual and man's slavery as a possession of the state.

In this struggle, we must dedicate ourselves to strengthening man's liberty as a free individual.

V.

Now, these are not just fine words of pure "corn." This is the most serious sort of business for every man of good will in the armed forces of the free world, for every free citizen in uniform.

Our Defense establishment is supporting more than one million Americans overseas today: members of our Armed Forces, their families, and civilian employees. Besides manning units and bases abroad, we also maintain MAAGS and missions in more than 40 countries.

If this immense effort by the American people is to have heart and meaning, then we must say that no American in uniform, no American serving in Defense, can hold himself apart with honor or honesty from today's great conflict. We cannot afford spectators, those who accept overseas duty as a grand tour for personal pleasure, or as a hardship to be gotten over quickly while counting the days left to return home. Such spectators are as useless as the man in armed combat who fails to fire a shot or perform a needed duty.

VI.

On your next tour overseas, open your eyes to a sound understanding of the role of the armed forces in the country where you serve. If you are an

advisor, help the unit you are advising to be realistic in strengthening the true security of the nation against the half-hidden attacks of the Communists.

Here are some practical suggestions:

a. As a starting point, remember the promise in our own Declaration of Independence of "certain unalienable Rights," which are spelled out in the first ten Amendments to our Constitution. Local trends towards these rights need to be encouraged and strengthened -- not as something foreign, but translated into local understanding and readiness, as the present situation permits. This encouragement and strengthening needs real sensitivity in the doing. Our own political philosophy grew out of the hopes and dreams of many peoples over the centuries. This philosophy continues as the most dynamic political force the world has ever known. I have seen it roll up the Communists' dialectical materialism every time it was truly applied. But, don't confuse the mechanics of the system we Americans have developed to use these precepts to govern ourselves with being the only way they can be used. Learn to recognize these profound truths as they exist in the cultures of others, in their hopes, political backgrounds, and great moral teachings. When you recognize these precepts in their local concept, help them become dominant in the indoctrination of the national armed forces you advise. Through these forces, you will help to bring to the fore among all the people of the nation, naturally and honestly, those precepts long honored in the culture of the nation which lead to man's liberty as an individual and a government responsive to the will of the people governed. This action by you is suggested as a constructive response when your views are requested.

b. An Army fighting Communist guerrillas who hide amongst the population must win over the population to support it -- before the guerrillas can be uncovered, recognized, and defeated. This Army must, therefore, become politically identified with the people. Study the 1953-1959 campaigns of the Burmese Defense Forces, the 1950-53 Philippines campaign against the Huks, and the Vietnamese pacification campaign of 1955 for examples of how to use civic action effectively in such combat, where the entire nation is in the forward area.

c. In applying the principles in the Bill of Rights and in attracting the population to support the military, be a good soldier. Make the little things go right. See that troops behave with true military courtesy at check points -- they can be alert for an enemy without bullying civilians. Put a

stop to needless commandeering of civilian property; such practices are often the result of poor administration of logistical means, and this is something any good American officer can help correct. It is all too easy for a man to get food and shelter at the point of a gun -- but when a soldier does this, he creates one more family who resent him and become ready to help the enemy. Make certain that military justice is used, is used impartially, and is known to the population. As the basic rules of good soldiering are applied, you will notice that the combat intelligence "take" will increase in proportion to the civilian population learning to trust the military as true protectors. Remember this and make use of it to convince the local commander of the correctness of your advice. If he has an ounce of real soldier in him, he isn't going to turn down an action that will increase his intelligence of the enemy immediately before him.

d. Above all, accord your fellow man with the dignity which is his birthright. In giving advice, be a true brother officer. Empathy -- sympathetic understanding of the problems, needs, and feelings of others -- is the priceless asset you need for your work abroad. It is far more valuable than mechanically learning a foreign language or taking a course in "human communications." Pass along your ideas in the constant spirit of wanting to help others to help themselves. Do so with humility, as I have seen some of our finest MAAG officers do. Do not discredit the authority of those you are trying to help by advising or criticizing in front of others. Earn the privilege of advising them in private as a friend who is welcome, whose advice is worth heeding. You will find it richly rewarding in terms of human affection when you treat others the way you expect to be treated yourself.

e. Practice what you preach. In many countries, your uniform will make you a man marked plainly as an American, a Yank, a gringo. By your own behavior, you can add real meaning to those names. The publisher of a great daily newspaper in Asia once told me how impressed he was over the MAAG Chief in his country -- whom he saw driving a car on a lonely road in the suburbs, with no traffic cops around, and driving within the legal speed limits. The Asian publisher had been about to pass this "slow" driver when he suddenly realized that the American was obeying the local law, his own country's law, and that he himself could do no less.

One of our OSO staff officers was in the capital of an allied nation not long ago and, while standing on the sidewalk, happened to say hello to a passing policeman. An old man came up to him afterwards and said that the United States must be a wonderful country because the American obviously

wasn't afraid of the policeman -- while he himself still remembered the old days in his country and was still afraid of the police. A little thing, yes, but it has deep meaning.

In newly independent nations, in nations trying to build national respect for their armed forces, you have a rare opportunity to set an example which many will follow. A smile and a greeting in their own language will set a whole new tone in the bearing and attitude of sentries at the gates of camps and headquarters you are visiting. Integrity, your adherence to a high code of honor in personal dealings, will be infections among officers and men far beyond those with whom you come in contact yourself. Instead of being the gruff and distant American, or a mere fun-loving Rover Boy, try being the American your own family believes you are. The rewards will be priceless.

VII.

Finally, I hope this has stimulated your own thinking, your own dedication to the principles in our Constitution which all of us Americans in uniform have sworn to support. As free citizens who will have vital missions assigned to you in the cold war, I have two parting thoughts for you:

First, dare to win this conflict. Delay, pulling in your necks, falling back into safe and comfortable bureaucratic conformity with the past can only help the enemy. We still have our General Braddock types who want to do it yesterday's way. We must convince them that it will take enlightened progress to succeed in this great conflict which has its own unique rules.

And finally, it seems appropriate within this particular group that I pass along to you the spirit, thought and words which closed the orders sending me to Vietnam in 1954. They are: "God bless you."

By Hand

4 Nov 60

MEMO FOR

Allen Dulles

You might find the
attached of some interest

Ed Hausdale